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§21 192 slightly to the west of *tokelau* is termed *mao tokelau wakatiu*; one blowing slightly to the east of *tokelau* is *mao tokelau matua*. A wind that chops and changes to several points in the same day is called *matangi tilivale*; a wind that shifts to another direction to blow steadily for a week or so before changing back again is *matangi tautaka*; a wind that shifts and blows only for a day or so before changing again is *matangi tautakataka*. As certain winds are valuable as two-way winds in sailing across the lagoon and back, the winds are classified: two-way winds (*matangi alalua*) from Wale to Motu Kotawa are *malangai* and *wakatiu*, from Wale to Motu Ko they are *manake* and *palapu*; one-way winds (*matangi alatayi*) from Motu Kotawa to Motu Ko are *tokelau* and *wakalua* and the wind for the reverse journey is *yulu*.

§21 787 124 Various beliefs are held about the relation of the weather to other phenomena. Black clouds (*kapuao uli*) low on the horizon, accompanied by thunder (*avatitili*), are a sign that fresh fish have come inside the reef. A vigorous electrical storm was formerly considered to portend a time of violence. It was also believed to be the gods' warning of coming punishments for violation of tapus. When lightning (*uila*) strikes the ground or a tree [647] or when a meteor (*mata uni kave*) appears to strike the island, this is a sign that a woman has conceived a child in incest and has had an abortion or miscarriage in order to avoid a shameful pregnancy.

A rainbow (*nuanua*) breaking through black clouds and a stormy sky is a sign that the bad weather has been broken by the bars of the rainbow and will soon blow away. A rainbow cutting through the clouds in a dull sky is a sign that turtles have come to the outer beaches, or that a shoal of fish is outside the reef. If the bonito fleet is fishing and the people see this rainbow, they comment that the fishing will be successful. A rainbow seen in the early morning or late afternoon is a sign that albacore fishing is good. [613] For chiefly succession in the Muliwutu lineage the successful aspirant is the one who can make a rainbow appear in the sky when he strikes with his right hand on the sacred stone of the worshiping enclosure (*awanga ya*).

If the wind blows hard from the southeast, then moderates and swings round to the northeast, this is a sign that flying fish are abundant. When red streaks appear to shoot up to the middle of the sky at dawn, this is a sign of heavy rain and hot weather to come. A halo or house round the sun (*te wale no te la*) signifies heavy rain on the following day.

If Yina, the woman in the moon (*maina*), is clearly outlined and easily seen, this means fair weather; if she is dark and obscure, a heavy sea will make fishing difficult. The crescent of the new moon turned toward the north means fair weather throughout the moon; the crescent turned to the south is a sign of bad weather; the moon lying on its back presages hot §21 weather. An eclipse of the moon or sun (*maina kaina, la kaina*) is caused

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843 of possible contagious influence on the shape of the child growing in the womb.

The pregnant woman should be careful not to bring on miscarriage after the fourth month of pregnancy. Though there is no record of deliberate attempts to produce miscarriage by physical means, miscarriage is easily produced by psychological means. When a woman is dissatisfied with her husband, or commits adultery in thought or deed, or does not love her husband as she ought, or does not desire a child by him, or is in general mental distress, a miscarriage is likely to follow. No preventive is known to ward off the possible effects of such a psychological upset, save only the counsel to the married woman to be of good cheer and of easy heart.

847 As to the frequency of abortion, it was impossible to gain any information. There is a fairly well established technique for securing abortion, however, and informants could give many cases where it might be desired:

> If the child is the result of incest; if a woman is tired of the man who is the father of her child and wishes to marry another man; if the woman fears that her new husband will not wish to be the sociologic father of her child or will despise her because she is pregnant by another man; if a married woman becomes pregnant by another man, and is afraid that her husband will thereby discover her intrigue; if a woman is pregnant by a man who is ugly or physically deformed, and is afraid her child may be born with the deformities of its father. For all these reasons a woman might decide on an abortion. A well-informed woman informant knew of none of her friends who had had an abortion, but she thought it occurred nowadays among unmarried girls.
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> The method of securing abortion is by thyroid manipulation, called *lomi te vaka* (pressure on the fetus) or *lomi papa* (pressure on the pregnant woman). A medicine man is rarely employed because it is shameful to get an outsider to do this. The father or mother of the pregnant woman gives her a prolonged and severe *lomilomi* (deep pressure) using the *wahatele* technique (pp.338), rubbing from the top of the abdomen toward the thighs. "The blood inside get all mixed up, it flows outward from the body, and carries the child with it", is the rationalization given by Pau. He said this *lomilomi* method would be sure to work up to the fourth month of pregnancy. Another informant believed that the efficacy of the *lomilomi* would be improved if the hands were dipped in hot water before being applied to the abdomen. This informant also recommended that the pregnant woman should drink plenty of hot water.

766 Death during pregnancy or confinement is considered a particularly bad
761 death (*mate yili*), whether the child lives or dies. A deceased pregnant
843 woman is buried in the condition in which she died; no attempt is made to remove the fetus from the womb to bury it separately. No special ideas of fear are associated with the ghost of an unborn child. Informants were very vague as to its exact status in the Underworld.

843 In general, the social attitude toward the pregnant mother is matter-of-fact. There are no tapus on her participation in social events. Tapus on her diet and behavior are all destined to protect her baby's health or bodily form; they are not a matter of social pride or shame in her. Her husband, if she has one, treats her with especial consideration during this period by provid-

853 846 and of four nights after delivery. They said a child was never given to a woman other than the mother to be nursed.

Twice daily, morning and evening, the infant is bathed either in the sea or in fresh water, and then rubbed with coconut oil. When the cord falls off, coconut oil is spread on the navel. If the navel is sore, a *puka* leaf may be placed over it and tied with sennit fiber. The child is kept wrapped in a soft kilt or in soft pandanus mats.

851 There is no difference in treatment for the boy and the girl. No public announcement was made of the birth of the first-born child. Birth customs were the same for members of the chiefly families as for the ordinary populace.

845 A prematurely born child (*tama yuatia*), if it is born alive, has all the usual care devoted to it. Jealousy of her husband on the part of the mother is believed to cause the death of a premature child; her bad heart (*ngakau kino*) kills the embryo. A still-born child (*tama na mate i loto o te manava*) is considered tapu and must be buried in the appropriate cemetery, no matter how immature, deformed, or mutilated it may be. Not to bury the child with care would render the mother unable to bear another child. Such children were not named before burial.

[847] Infanticide is unknown today; there is no record of its having been practiced in earlier times.

Twins (*voyanga*) are extremely rare. No ideas are entertained about their desirability. There is no formulated belief as to which of twin children is to be considered the older. Most informants agreed that the first-born would rightly be held the older of the two, though a minority felt that the larger child, irrespective of the order of birth, should be considered the older. No beliefs are held as to the magical powers of twins, nor are any special abilities attributed to them.

Pattern Variations

844 517 Extremely realistic attitudes toward childbirth are held by Pukapukans. No sense of mystery surrounds the event. It is considered interesting to the whole community, as natural as any other fact of life. Anyone who feels inclined, man, woman, or child, has the fullest liberty to be present. Long hours of waiting are helped along with gossiping, joking, and laughter, while the children play about until late hours of the night. But, though the patterns of childbirth are firmly fixed and can be given by most informed adults, nevertheless in specific instances all sorts of confusion and inefficiency may be displayed, some procedures being forgotten, others performed out of order. Each birth is unique in its emotional overtones. A child may be 845 born under matter-of-fact circumstances with hardly a person in the village aware of the fact. In contrast, a birth was witnessed in which the child was a long time being delivered, all those present becoming angry with the par-